

## Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR ZA US XA

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S PROPOSED TRIP TO AFRICA

1. SUMMARY. IN CONVERSATION MAR 6 WITH CHONA ON OTHER SUBJECTS HE RAISED SECRETARY'S PROPOSED TRIP TO AFRICA AND GRATUITOUSLY OFFERED A VARIETY OF SUGGESTIONS ON HOW IT COULD MARK DRAMATIC TURNING POINT IN US POLICY TOWARD AFRICA AND AFFORD US OPPORTUNITIES TO OFFSET SOVIET PSYCHOLOGICAL GAINS IN ANGOLA AND EARN AFRICAN GOODWILL FROM CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON NAMIBIA. THOUGHT TRIP WOULD COME TOO LATE TO HELP PEACEFUL NEGOTIATING POSSIBILITY IN RHODESIA. SAW VALUE TO SOUTH AFRICA STOPOVER. RAISED QUESTION OF HOW CHINA REGARDS US IN AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

2. PURPOSE AND EFFECT. ALTHOUGH TIMING OF SECRETARY'S TRIP IN LATE APRIL WOULD BE "AFTER THE FACT" (CHONA'S REFERENCE TO MISSED OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA), IT STILL OFFERED HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO MARK WHOLLY NEW DEPARTURE OR TURNING POINT IN US RELATIONS WITH AFRICA. TRIP SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO SHOW DRAMATIC BREAK WITH PAST US POSTURE WHICH CHONA THOUGHT CHARACTERIZED BY SOME AMBIVALENCE AND QUIVOCATION. TRIP SHOULD BE USED TO GIVE PROMINENCE TO FACT US HELPING AFRICA IN MANY WAYS. CURIOUSLY ENOUGH (PERHAPS BECAUSE HE HIMSELF WAS US EDUCATED), CHONA THOUGHT US WAS MISSING OPPORTUNITY IN NOT EMPHASIZING MORE THE GREAT NUMBERS OF AFRICAN STUDENTS

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WHO HAVE AND ARE GOING TO US COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

SECRETARY COULD SAY WHAT US PREPARED TO DO FOR YOUTH OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, NAMIBIA, AND RHODESIA. MAIN FOCUS OF TRIP SHOULD BE ON US RECORD OF ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AS WAY OF TELLING AFRICANS THAT SOVIETS HOLD NO MONOPOLY ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AS THEY WOULD HAVE AFRICANS BELIEVE. MESSAGE NEEDS BE REPEATED AT ALL STOPS.

3. CONCRETE RESULTS. (A) RHODESIA. IT WOULD BE TOO LATE IN APRIL IN CHONA'S VIEW TO ATTEMPT RE-OPEN ISSUE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AS GUERRILLA WAR WOULD BE IN FULL SWING BY THEN. CHONA URGED THAT SECY STRESS BASIC US COMMITMENT TO LIBERATION AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND THAT EVERY APPEARANCE BE GIVEN THAT US ON SIDE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS AGAINST MINORITY REGIME. (B) NAMIBIA. CHONA THOUGHT USG SHOULD PROMPTLY CALL FOR NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT SO THAT SECY COULD ANNOUNCE CONCRETE US PROGRAM OF ACTION DURING HIS VISIT TO AFRICA WELL IN ADVANCE OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL DEADLINE OF AUGUST 31 FOR SOUTH AFRICAN COMPLIANCE WITH UNSC RESOLUTION.

4. STOPOVER IN AFRICA. CHONA PERSONALLY THOUGHT SECY SHOULD VISIT SOUTH AFRICA AS IT COULD BE A USEFUL AND EFFECTIVE WAY OF EMPHASIZING BLACK AFRICAN VIEWS FOR PM VORSTER. BELIEVED KAUNDA WOULD AGREE. SECY COULD REMIND VORSTER OF HIS CLAIM TO BE AFRICAN AND ASK THAT HE FULFIL AFRICAN OBLIGATIONS ON NAMIBIA. CHONA CREDITED VORSTER WITH GENUINENESS IN HIS APPROACH TO SMITH FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA BUT REALIZED ODDS WERE AGAINST VORSTER BECAUSE OF SMITH'S "SLIPPERY" WAYS.

5. TANZANIA. STRANGELY ENOUGH CHONA OPENED HIS COMMENTS ON SECY'S VISIT BY NOTING HOW IMPORTANT IT SHOULD BE FOR TANZANIA, ONE OF A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH, CHONA OBSERVED, ARE USING SOUTH AFRICA AS AN ISSUE TO RESOLVE THEIR OWN INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS. SAID USG SHOULD DISTINGUISH THIS TEMPORARY PHENOMENON FROM BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH CERTAIN TROUBLED AFRICAN COUNTRIES STAND. SAID KAUNDA WOULD URGE SECY NOT TO CUT OFF AID TO TANZANIA EVEN THOUGH THAT COUNTRY MAY OCCASIONALLY GO AGAINST US POSITIONS AND INTERESTS. CHONA DESCRIBED TANZANIA AS IN A DILEMMA

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WITH ONE OF ITS PROBLEMS BEING HOW TO SORT OUT ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND SOVIET UNION.

6. US AND CHINA IN AFRICA. CHONA EDGED INTO SUBJECT BY SAYING US SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SHOW IT CAN WORK ON SAME PLANE WITH CHINA IN AFRICA, E.G., THERE A PLACE FOR BOTH FOREIGN DONORS IN AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE: CHINA WITH PEASANTS AT GRASS ROOTS, US WITH LARGE

RANCHES AND AGRIBUSINESS. TWO STYLES ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE, CHONA IMPLIED. SUGGESTED SECY'S VISIT COULD POINT UP THIS POSSIBILITY. I ASKED CHONA IF THIS COMMENT IMPLIED THAT ZAMBIA AND CHINA MIGHT HAVE DISCUSSED US POLICY IN AFRICA. CHONA FIRST SOUGHT TO AVOID DIRECT ANSWER, THEN REMARKED, "LET'S JUST SAY CHINESE THINK IT LIKELY US WILL RECOGNIZE MPLA BEFORE THEY DO." THEN CHONA GAVE VIEW THAT BOTH CHINA AND ZAMBIA WOULD LIKE TO SEE CLEARER US POLICY ON AFRICA. FELT IT COULD BRING US AND CHINA CLOSER TOGETHER IN AFRICA. CHONA PREDICTED CHINESE LIKELY IN ANY UPCOMING UN SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE TO CONDEMN SOUTH AFRICA FOR REMAINING IN ANGOLA. URGED USG TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO PULL BACK WITHIN NARROW PERIMETERS GUARDING CUNENE DAM TO AVOID SUCH CONDEMNATION.

7. COMMENT: CHONA'S REMARKS ON SECY'S TRIP CONTAIN A FEW USEFUL SUGGESTIONS WORTHY OF DEPT'S CONSIDERATION. THEY ALSO PROVIDE SOME INTERESTING INSIGHTS ON CHINESE DISTRESS OVER SOVIET INROADS IN AFRICA, MOST RECENTLY IN ANGOLA AND TANZANIA. BASED ON CHONA'S FREQUENT CONVERSATIONS HERE WITH CHINESE, THEY SUGGEST PRC AS WELL AS GRZ MAY BE LOOKING TO SECY'S TRIP TO TAKE SOME OF LUSTRE OFF SOVIET STAR WHICH HAS BRIGHTENED IN AFRICAN EYES FOLLOWING STUNNING MILITARY SWEEP OF SOVIET-EQUIPPED CUBAN TROOPS ACROSS ANGOLA. WE WILL BE EXPLAINING TO CHONA THAT SECY'S TRIP IS NOT INTENDED TO ACCENTUATE BIG POWER RIVALRY WHICH WE CONTINUE TO TRY TO AVOID IN AFRICA, RATHER SECY WILL BE FAMILIARIZING HIMSELF WITH AN AREA OF WORLD WHICH HE HAS NEVER VISITED. IN HIS REMARKS ON RHODESIA CHONA OBVIOUSLY WISHED TO CONVEY ZAMBIAN DISAPPOINTMENT THAT US HAS NOT JOINED BRITAIN IN CLARIFYING FOR SMITH THAT HE CANNOT COUNT ON  
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HELP FROM US TO SUSTAIN WHITE MINORITY REGIME. ZAMBIAN AND TANZANIAN FEARS THAT US WOULD INTERVENE TO SAVE SMITH CONTINUE TO BE HEARD IN LUSAKA.  
WILKOWSKI

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